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ABSTRACT

This monograph explores the major categories of alternative work patterns, e.g., flexitime, permanent part-time employment, job sharing, the compressed work week, and reduced work time. Advantages and disadvantages of each type are discussed, and new insight is offered into an unexplored dimension of the major types of alternative work patterns: their differing implications for adult worker participation in education and training activities. After examining the implications of these differing schemes on educational and training opportunity, the paper sets forth a series of recommendations for the attention of business, labor, education, and government officials concerned to assess and seize the opportunities present in more flexible work arrangements. (KC)

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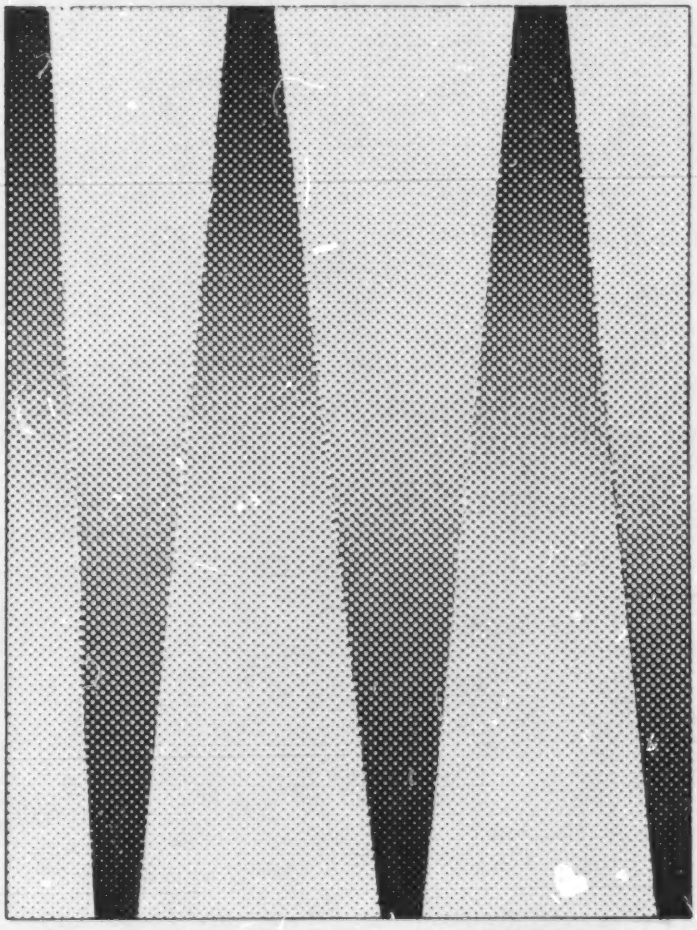

Alternative Work Patterns: Implications for Worklife Education and Training

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The authors of the policy research papers in this series are knowledgeable analysts both from within and without the National Institute for Work and Learning. Their charge was to explore one or more issue areas which the project identified as being of significant interest to public and private sector decision makers concerned with shaping worker education and training policy and practice for the coming decade. Authors were asked to synthesize the relevant research bearing on the issue areas, to assess the knowledge base with a view to discerning the points of public and private policy relevance, and to use their best independent professional judgments in offering recommendations for action.

Therefore, it is important to note that the opinions and points of view presented in this and other papers in this series do not necessarily represent the official positions or policy of either the National Institute of Education or of the National Institute for Work and Learning.

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FOREWORD

An array of alternatives to the 9-to-5 work day began to take firmer hold in the American workplace in the 1970's. As a new decade begins, experimentation with these alternative work patterns is expected to become significantly more widespread. What they hold in common is an appreciation that the conventional 40-hour week, fulfilled through eight hours on the job Monday through Friday, contains within it rigidities, inefficiencies and inconvenience from the vantage of employers, an increasing portion of the American workforce and the broader society.

The major categories of alternative work patterns, e.g. flexitime, permanent part-time employment, job sharing, the compressed work week and reduced worktime, have begun to receive close inspection by labor unions, employers, and public policy makers in government. Advantages and disadvantages of each type are receiving scrutiny from these separate institutional vantages, and in recent years a significant body of empirical evidence from case experience has become available to aid in separating myth from reality.

This policy research paper by Ms. Jane Shore, Research Associate at the National Institute for Work and Learning (formerly the National Manpower Institute) offers new insight into an unexplored dimension of the major types of alternative work patterns: their differing implications for adult worker participation in education and training activities. What emerges is the prospect of major new opportunity for intermixing working and learning during the adult years, as scheduling, fatigue, and other time barriers to working adult participation in organized learning opportunity are reduced.

With concise, clear exposition Ms. Shore provides the reader a synthesis of current research on key features and select impacts of the major types of alternative work patterns. After examining the implications of these differing schemes on educational and training opportunity, the author sets forth a series of recommendations for the attention of business, labor, education and government officials concerned to assess and seize the opportunities present in more flexible work arrangements. The reader will find here a valuable reference document, and primer for action.

Gregory B. Smith
Director
Worker Education and Training
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I. INTRODUCTION

> How much the work experience is affected by the tradition of eight hours a day, five days a week, has been given too little consideration in this country. The practice bears a direct relationship to the possibilities of enlarged educational renewal opportunity (Wirtz and NMI, 1975, p. 123).

The outlook for enlarging educational opportunity for working adults is an issue of increasing concern in American society. The concept of "lifelong learning" has grown with the decline in youth enrollments in higher education, the increase in average age of the workforce, and the rapid pace of technological change. Many adults are turning to education, whether out of need for retraining to adapt to technology, as a means for career advancement through ever-tightening job ladders, or as a creative way to use the expanded leisure time afforded by modern-day society. Further, as these demographic, economic, and social trends continue to exert their influence, adult participation in education can be expected to continue and grow. The societal response to this expectation is already in evidence, as is illustrated in the following comment:

> We are presently witnessing a growing interest, on the part of educators, the federal government, and society in general, in the possibilities for increasing and improving the learning opportunities for adults. While adult education and learning are far from being as pervasive and universal as youth education, there are certain trends that suggest increased emphasis on adults and their educational and learning potentials...New teaching methods, new delivery systems, and new support services and recruitment strategies have begun to emerge. Now more than at any other time in our history, colleges and schools are preparing to deal with the mature learner (Charner et al., 1978, p. 3).

Nevertheless, the new emphasis on the adult learner notwithstanding, it appears that many more people would like to be participating in education than are currently doing so. Fred Best, in his recent work on flexible life patterns, states that "a number of opinion surveys indicate considerable interest on the part of adults for educational activities...Actual

participation in mid-life schooling lags far behind stated interest" (Best, 1979, pp. 55-60). Moreover, this gap between interest and action may be particularly wide for working adults. A number of studies show that expressed desire for education on the part of workers may be high, while the proportion that actually participate is quite low (See, for example, Charner et al., 1978).

Why does this gap exist? For working adults there are important problems and barriers associated with a return to school These problems or factors can be classified as situational, social-psychological, and institutional (Charner, 1979, p. 45). Situational factors are "those which arise out of one's position in a family, the work place, social group, etc. at a given time," for example, costs or lack of time. Social-psychological factors involve an individual's attitude or self-perceptions or the influence of others' attitudes on the individual. For example, some workers lack confidence in their learning ability or feel too old to return to school. Institutional factors are organizational practices which serve to inhibit worker participation in education, such as scheduling or lack of information about learning opportunities.

While all of these types of barriers importantly influence the participation of adults in education, some are more susceptible to structural changes than others. Work scheduling is one such susceptible factor. Scheduling constraints faced by many adult workers pose serious problems in their attempts to utilize the education and training opportunities available to them. Inflexible or burdensome work schedules seriously hamper the ability of working adults to plan and execute their learning goals. A National Manpower Institute study of worker use of negotiated tuition aid plans included a survey of 51 company officials, 52 union officials, and 910 workers. Over 41 percent of company

officials and 75 percent of union officials believed that lack of company provisions for time off or schedule adjustments acts as a barrier to worker participation in education (Charner et al., 1978, p. 49). Of the workers surveyed, nearly 40 percent reported as a problem the fact that their companies did not allow them t rearrange their schedules or take time off to attend classes (Charner et al., 1978, p. 60). This ranked fourth of all problems/barriers cited. Another study, based on survey responses from 926 workers at three sites in New York State, found work schedules (i.e. shift, working on a second job, and overtime) to be an important barrier to tuition-aid use cited by nonusers of tuition-aid (Abramovitz, 1977, p. 137). The study found that over 21 percent of nonusers cited work schedules as a barrier (p. 139) and, further, that it was a leading barrier regardless of company or demographic characteristics (p. 145).

What do these findings suggest? It appears that if the needs of increasing numbers of working adults for education and training are to be met, one crucial area to be addressed is the scheduling of worktime. The recent development of alternative work patterns represents one of the most promising possibilities for achieving the kind of institutional flexibility needed to enhance worker educational opportunity. It is that potential which is the focus of this paper. If flexitime, permanent part-time employment, or other worktime innovations become commonplace, an important barrier to worker use of education will be greatly reduced. Further, the effect of this will be much increased if linked to a broader social policy designed to coordinate efforts to enhance access to education.

There are a number of important interconnections between alternative work patterns and worklife education and training (including, but not limited to, the specific issue of the scheduling of worktime) which will

be addressed in Section IV of this paper. However, it is interesting to note that despite the wealth of literature on each of these separate areas, there is very little reference to their interrelationship or to the possibilities for a coordinated social policy. By and large, only general reference is made to the fact that flexible and reduced work hours could enable greater participation in education or training.

Why is this so? According to one expert on the subject, Stanley Nollen, the concept of alternative work patterns is still too novel an idea for people to have explored its implications such as its potential linkage to education. Further, while the idea of the linkage is a good one, it still presents problems in practice. What degree of flexibility would there have to be in worktime scheduling in order to significantly enhance working adults' participation in education?

Although alternative work patterns (AWPs) have important implications for worker education, AWPs were developed in response to a number of quite different societal factors. This paper first outlines the background and development of AWPs and then discusses the four major types of work scheduling alternatives--flexitime, permanent part-time employment, the compressed workweek, and reduced worktime. Next, general and specific implications of AWPs for education and training are explored, and policy recommendations are offered.

II. BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE WORK PATTERNS

Iris S. is a secretary with two small children. She works full-time, and since her office introduced "flexitime" four months ago, she has been able to get her children off to school as well as herself ready for work without rushing. She leaves for work after the peak morning rush hour, thus saving both time and money. One of her co-workers, Mrs. K., is a "morning person" who uses flexitime to get to work early and to leave early in order to spend time with her children soon after they've returned from school.

Susan Y. and Harold T. share a job as a child care worker at the hospital. They each work half-days, occasionally overlapping to consult with each other. For Susan, in her early twenties, job sharing enables her to earn income and also work toward her degree in early childhood education. For Harold, in his late sixties, working part-time allows him to supplement his social security benefits and to stay active in community life.

John J. is a mechanic in an auto plant; his wife Kathy works as a waitress. For the last six months, John has worked 35 hours a week instead of 40. His union negotiated the worktime reduction as an alternative to threatened layoffs. The shorter workweek has also enabled John to be more active in the raising of their three children.

For all these workers, the standard workweek -- nine to five, five days a week -- would cause problems. The move toward flexible, alternative scheduling of worktime has enabled them to better balance their work lives with the rest of their lives.

Increasingly, alternative work patterns (AWPs) have been viewed as means to meet personal needs and mitigate a range of social problems. Although there are many variations of AWPs, and proponents argue the superiority of one form over another, the central significance may lie in their underlying philosophy and intent. The move toward AWPs represents an attempt to humanize the workplace and to integrate worklife with other important aspects of life in society -- family life, education, leisure, etc.

Interest in AWPs has been expressed by many groups in our society:

- Management initiates flexible work systems in order to improve worker morale and productivity and reduce absenteeism and turnover.
- Labor unions, while opposing some forms of AWPs, are increasingly supporting others and seeking to include them in collective bargaining agreements.
- Federal and state governments seek to find ways to increase services to the public through expanded hours and staffing.
- Universities are accommodating more and more working adults, many of whom need AWPs in order to facilitate both schooling and work.
- Transportation and energy planners seek AWPs to relieve traffic congestion and conserve energy.

In response to this widespread interest, government and advocate groups have pushed for expanded AWP usage. President Carter has pledged to actively encourage the use of AWPs in both the federal government and the private business sector; and a number of bills have been introduced and/or enacted to implement this. In 1976, Senate hearings addressed changing patterns of work in America. The Washington-based National Council for Alternative Work Patterns, Inc., has sponsored conferences, surveyed AWP initiatives, and served as a resource center and information clearinghouse. In addition, numerous groups have arisen around the country which facilitate AWP development through public education and provision of technical assistance to parties interested in implementing AWPs. Overall, experimentation in

this country is still limited and data are fragmented. Nevertheless, enough literature exists to suggest the current "state-of-the-art" of AWPs in this country.*/

Definitions

The four major types of AWPs examined in this paper are: flexitime or flexible working hours; permanent part-time employment, including job sharing; the compressed workweek; and reduced worktime, including work sharing.

Alternative work patterns have been defined as:

> innovations in the area of work scheduling practices which present management and labor with alternatives to the standard forty-hour, five-day workweek. Alternatives in work scheduling may be applied in one or all of three areas: 1) the timing of hours of work; 2) the duration of hours of work; and/or 3) employee control over his or her own schedule. (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 142).

Flexitime or flexible working hours is an arrangement in which full- or part-time workers are granted a degree of choice in setting their own working hours as long as the normally prescribed number of hours is worked. Employees may vary their starting and stopping time, within limits, but must work the contracted numbers of hours in a specified time period (day, week, or month). Though there are many variations in flexitime, typically, it involves a workday consisting of "core time," when all employees must be present, and "flexible time," the part of the schedule of work hours within which an employee may choose arrival and departure times. The entire workday -- core hours plus flexible hours -- is known as a "bandwidth." Thus, an office's bandwidth may be designated as 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.,

*/Though beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that in other areas of the world, particularly Western Europe, experimentation with various AWP schemes is considerably more widespread than in the U.S.

with core time 9:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., flexible starting time between 6:00 a.m. and 9:30 a.m., and flexible stopping time between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. Additionally, some plans include "midday flexible hours" or the flexible lunch period. Employees must account for the number of required hours.

Even when flexitime is based on a week or a month, employees may be required to be present during the core hours. When flexitime is calculated on a weekly or monthly basis, the worker can often "bank" "credit" or "debit" hours, up to a certain limit, which are carried over to the next accounting period. For example, if an employee works forty-four hours in one week, he/she is "credited" with four hours' work which is subtracted from the hours of work required in the next accounting period. By the end of this period (often a week or month in length), the employee is expected to have worked the minimum amount of hours.

Related to flexitime is the staggered hours system, in which a workday is fixed in hours and employees are assigned staggered starting times. The assignment is often on a departmental basis and is sometimes planned on a community-wide basis in order to alleviate traffic congestion. If employees rather than management choose the hours, the system is considered a restricted form of flexitime.

Permanent part-time employment is regular, voluntary employment undertaken at shorter hours than the norm for full-time employees. The employment is stable, generally involving at least prorated fringe benefits, seniority, and upward mobility. It is thus differentiated from temporary or casual labor or that which results from reduction in hours during an economic downturn. Permanent part-time employment may be part-day, part-week, part-month, or even part-year, though it is commonly viewed as part-day. One model of permanent part-time employment is job sharing, in which two or more employees jointly cover or assume responsibility for one full-time

position. Usually it involves two people who each receive prorated pay and fringe benefits and work either as a team jointly responsible for the whole or separately for each half. The schedules of the two are arranged so that one or the other is always on the job. Job sharing involves deliberate conversion of a full-time position.

Under a compressed workweek, the usual number of weekly full-time hours is compressed into fewer than five working days. This often entails four ten-hour days or three thirteen-hour days. Other variations are three-and-a-half or four-and-a-half day weeks or the 5-4/9 plan in which employees work four days one week and five days another week out of a two-week period.

Reduced worktime or worksharing involves lessening the number of work hours of each worker in order to spread the available work and avoid layoffs. It is seen as a way to create more jobs and reduce unemployment. There are several models: shortened work days and shortened workweeks in which employees work less hours with no reduction in pay; the shortened work year, which entails the reduction of work hours through increased paid vacations and holidays; and short-time compensation, in which employees work less hours for less pay but with partial replacement of lost income.

Background

How did the standardized workweek come about? How has it changed over time?

Before the Industrial Revolution, when the U.S. economy was based mainly on agriculture, work hours were long but flexible -- dictated by seasons, daily weather variations, the rising and setting of the sun, and people's individual time clocks. There was minimal capital investment, with family members working together and filling in for each other when necessary.

With industrialization, conditions changed markedly. Capital investment was sizeable, equipment was centrally located, and workers went to the place of production rather than materials going to the worker. The family as the major productive unit dissolved, and there was an initial division of labor. Family members each went to their place of employment, where they worked long and fixed hours, resulting in maximized use of capital investment and increased productivity.

The Industrial Revolution represented a crucial philosophical and operational shift in the way work was viewed and carried out. As technology and mass production grew, standardization and control over employees became key. The orientation toward task completion was replaced by an emphasis on time, which became a commodity workers sold on an hourly basis to be used to create other commodities. Furthermore, standardization of work hours spread from the factory to the office, where it was not really required by technology or the work process.

The length of the working day became, and has remained, a crucial issue of work reformers. The earliest documented efforts to reduce work hours involved strikes by eighteenth and nineteenth century workers to establish a ten-hour day. In the 1840's, several state and federal laws were passed which mandated ten-hour days for certain groups of workers. As the average worker fought for the ten-hour day, those who had gained the latter had already begun to fight for the eight-hour day, and throughout the second half of the nineteenth century there was a steady decline in work hours (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, pp. 23-24).

From 1900 to 1920, weekly hours dropped about two-and-a-half times as fast as in the previous fifty years. And through the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act of 1936, which stated that contractors to the federal government must pay time-and-a-half for work over eight hours a day or

forty hours a week, the standard workweek came to be defined as "those hours above which premium pay is required by law" (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 24). In 1938, the standard workweek concept was extended to many workers in commerce through the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In the post-World War II era, there have been only minor reductions in the length of the workweek. Most of these reductions are due to a shortened work year (through increased vacations and paid holidays) rather than reduced weekly or daily hours. Thus, despite societal expectations for increased leisure accompanying technological progress, most workers have experienced little such increase in the last three decades. In fact, union demands for reduced worktime notwithstanding, there are a substantial number of workers who work over forty hours a week, partly due to compulsory overtime provisions.* While workers have not gained the expected worktime reduction, there has been a hugh increase in nonwork time during one's life. This occurs in the form of increased years for education during youth and lengthier retirement in part because of the increased longevity of the population. The years of work have been compressed into smaller and smaller portions of the total lifespan.

Recent Societal Trends

> Most people in most workplaces work the same number of hours and days each week, stop and start at the same times, have the same amount of vacation times as others with whom they work, and retire upon reaching the same age. But these ways of doing work may be neither as productive as they used to be nor suited to many of the kinds of work which now need to be done... (Committee on Alternative Work Patterns and National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life, 1976, p. v.).

*Between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. there was actually a slight increase in the proportion of workers covered by agreements calling for a workweek over forty hours (Levitan and Belous, 1978).

Beginning in the 1960s, there has been a growing move to reduce or eliminate standardization of work schedules. A number of important social and economic developments have provided the rationale or impetus for the recent push toward AWPs. Proponents of flexible work scheduling state that not only is standardization not always necessary in our postindustrial era, but sometimes it actually has harmful consequences in our changing social milieu and can serve to exclude potential workers from the labor force. What follows is an outline of the major forces which contribute to a growing need for AWPs:

- America has changed from a manufacturing economy to a service economy.

Only about 40 percent of the workforce is engaged in production; the remaining proportion renders services (Committee on Alternative Work Patterns and National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life, 1976, p.1). Work in the service sector does not require the standardization needed in industry. Further, such service work must respond to customers' demands for services during their off days and hours. Emergency services must be staffed around the clock. Provision of recreational services requires a departure from conventional hours.

- The composition of the labor force has changed greatly, with growing proportions of women, youth, older workers, the handicapped, and better-educated workers.

Many growing segments of the working population are often unwilling or unable to conform to a rigid standardized work schedule. They have different needs and preferences. Women often are unable to work full-time or preset hours because of family responsibilities. Substantial numbers of youth need part-time jobs to finance full-time schooling. Older workers often want to phase in retirement and supplement their social security income by working short hours; both they and the handicapped may be physically unable to meet a full-time work schedule. Finally, young,

well-educated workers are increasingly unwilling to conform to rigid, inflexible work schedules. Thus, the fastest growing segments of the labor force are composed of those workers most likely to prefer flexible or shortened work hours. Their preferences are suggested in the survey data discussed later in this outline.

- There is a rising number of dual-earner families, one-parent families and families with few children.

This has a number of implications for AWPs. In dual-earner families, the two partners may need to schedule their work to enable child-rearing. This would require one or both of them to have a flexible or alternative work schedule. Indeed, more and more couples are electing to share child-rearing responsibilities for a variety of reasons. Because many families have two earners and fewer children, income is increased while financial need is reduced. This may enhance one or both partners' desire or ability to reduce work hours in order to have more time for family and other pursuits. (As a related issue, an increase in spendable income would raise consumer demand for services, further necessitating the scheduling of nonstandardized work hours in service establishments.) In one-parent families, AWPs are often needed for the employee trying to work and simultaneously attend to home responsibilities. If AWPs enable parents to care for their children, the need for public expenditure on day care facilities is also reduced.

- Levels of unemployment increase or remain high.

In response to the alarming level of joblessness, many advocate a reduction in working hours, which would reduce layoffs, create jobs, and more equitably share the available work.

- Urbanization of society creates traffic and crowding problems.

Flexible work schedules may be the only way to alleviate traffic congestion, rush hour crowding, and the resulting increased fuel consumption.

- Society is shifting from the linear to the cyclic life pattern, and there appears to be an increased desire for leisure and other pursuits during the working years of life.

The linear "time trap" of first school, then work, then retirement appears to meet the needs of fewer and fewer workers. A growing number of workers indicate dissatisfaction with standardized work schedules, though not yet the majority of workers. Two national "quality of employment" surveys conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center showed that the proportion of employed workers citing problems with "inconvenient or excessive hours" rose from 29.5 percent in 1969 to 33.6 percent in 1977 (Best undated). The 1977 survey also found 78 percent of workers stating that nonsupervisory employees should have at least "some say" about their work schedules (National Council on Alternative Work Patterns, Inc., 1979, p. 8).

Fred Best has done extensive research into time-income tradeoffs and worker preferences for cyclic life patterns and increased free time. In 1976, he conducted an exploratory survey of 791 manual and nonmanual employees of Alameda County, California, with a demographic make-up approximating that of the U.S. labor force. The results of the survey suggest "that workers may desire major changes in the amount and scheduling of time spent on work, and increased flexibility in scheduling work and nonwork activities over their lifespans" (Best, 1978, p. 31). The survey responses confirmed the hypothesis that there is a desire to reschedule existing worktime in ways which allow more extended free time. Workers indicated a preference for extended time away from work over other forms of free time.

Further, 1978 national survey conducted under contract from the National Commission on Manpower Policy showed that the scheduling of potential free time has much influence on time-income tradeoff preferences and that workers put considerable value on extended time away from work, such as longer weekends or vacations (Best, undated). Asked to choose preferences among a 2 percent pay raise or a number of equally costly forms of free time, only 35 percent chose pay, while 65 percent chose some form of free time.

- There is a general move to "humanize" the workplace.

Apart from the specific issue of scheduling of worktime, there is an overall trend toward flexibility and away from standardization in the work environment. Young, well-educated workers in particular are reportedly less tolerant of authoritarianism, time clocks, and rigid rules, viewing them as dehumanizing and stifling of individual human potential. The task orientation of work is making a comeback. AWPs are seen as a necessary facet of a humane workplace.

- The need for education and retraining has increased.

As technology expands, knowledge becomes outdated and jobs are lost, and the pursuit of education and training grows in importance. In order to pursue education, many workers may need flexible schedules or part-time jobs. This issue is discussed in more detail in Section IV.

In sum, advocates of AWPs see them as responding to a broad range of current societal concerns.

A Look to the Future

But what of the fate of AWPs in the coming decades? What about the forty-hour week? What will be the effect of widespread AWP acceptance?

The consensus of those who comment on the subject is that the concept of a standardized workweek is on the way out. It's not necessarily that everyone will want more leisure or that certain types of AWPs are clearly "the best." The fact is that there is no longer a rationale for standardization and that the existence of varied, flexible scheduling patterns clearly is able to meet the needs of the largest number of workers.

At this point, there are indications that widespread adaptation to various forms of AWPs is both possible and desirable. Even if hours are reduced on a larger scale, the goal is not a new standard; rather, the goal is increased individualization and variety. As Best points out in The Future of Work (1973, p. 96), the importance of the four-day, ten-hour week, despite its fairly poor performance, was in its precedent-breaking effect on the traditional five-day week. The same rationale used by advocates of a cyclic life plan (that the "linear time trap" of education, then work, then retirement is counterproductive and possibly harmful) can be applied to the concept of flexible versus fixed hours of work. The importance of moving toward a climate of workplace flexibility is underscored by Janice Hedges:

> One senses in many of the discussions of altered work weeks a feeling that compressed and flexible schedules are in competition; that eventually one or the other of them is expected to emerge the victor over the standard work week. The chances are, it seems to me, that we will have compressed work weeks, flexible work weeks, and standard work weeks. The description...of...firms that use multiple schedules, each for a particular work situation, is a foretaste of the future. For the change in work schedules that is under way is not one of supplanting standard work weeks with any particular new model. It is, rather, the recognition that work schedule design is a management tool for accomplishing specific objectives. It also can be a means for employees to satisfy some of their objectives (The Conference Board in Canada, 1973, p. 47).

Nevertheless, the above discussion should not be taken to suggest that a shift to AWPs is without obstacles. Indeed, there are significant barriers to AWP acceptance which must somehow be worked out before its use becomes widespread. Along with the social forces pushing for AWPs, there are existing laws and forces of institutional inertia which militate against change. Specific organizational problems, cost issues, and irrational resistance to change also act against AWP acceptance and implementation. Thus, the road to AWP acceptance will not be easy. Furthermore, even the most enthusiastic advocates of AWPs do not see them as a "cure-all." At best, they represent a step toward humanizing the workplace as well as offering partial solutions to certain social ills. Yet they also tend to raise some problems of their own.

What are the general societal impacts of AWPs, above and beyond their specific effects at the workplace? Five major areas in which they can be said to have substantial impact are unemployment, child care, work satisfaction, life cycle patterns, and education and training.

• Unemployment. AWPs have the potential for alleviating joblessness, both by making employment more feasible for certain groups and by creating more jobs, through reduced hours of work, especially if linked to an overall economic/employment strategy. Government subsidies could help greatly in this regard. Creative use of social policy could enable both reduced unemployment and the fulfilling of workers' desire for more leisure. If this policy were further developed, it could entail the planned use of increased leisure time for job retraining to adopt to technological change or for career growth, which would expand the potential or efficiency of the existing workforce.

However, the possibility also exists that AWPs could raise unemployment, either by enabling more workers to enter the labor force or by increasing

dual job holding. But in the absence of widespread experimentation with various alternative patterns, it is difficult to judge the net overall effect. As Levitan and Belous state, "Reduced worktime, flexible hours, and alternative work patterns have been almost ignored by government policymakers as possible tools in fighting unemployment, yet these approaches could have a part in a policy mix designed to create and spread the work" (1978, p. 22).

- Child care. Day care facilities are in great demand in our society, and often their costs are prohibitive for many parents. Widespread use of AWPs could facilitate the ability of working parents to care for their children and/or divide and share childrearing responsibilities, thereby reducing the need for day care facilities and the incidence of improperly cared for children.

- Work satisfaction. A secondary yet important impact of AWP use is improved employee morale. The introduction of AWPs into a workplace enables a greater degree of worker control, responsibility, and freedom. As such, overall job satisfaction often tends to grow. This in itself has important implications. Furthermore, flexible work patterns properly put the focus back on the work itself rather than the time slot in which it is done. Nevertheless, merely shifting the arrangement of work hours does not by itself necessarily affect the desirability of the work being performed or the humanity of the environment in which it is carried out. In conjunction with other work-humanizing innovations, however, its effect on job satisfaction could be far reaching.

- Life cycle patterns. Any successful attempt to break down rigid work patterns will certainly have ramifications for the worlds of education and leisure. A shift in one area will cause a redistribution of the others. Thus, the establishment of flexible work patterns is a significant step in the larger process of developing cyclic life patterns. When workers'

scheduling options are truly enhanced, so is their ability to effectively integrate work with other important aspects of their lives.

- Education and Training The use of AWPs could greatly enhance worker access to educational opportunities, in large part by reducing the work scheduling barriers which appear to inhibit many workers' use of education and training. The impacts of AWPs on worklife education and training are discussed in detail later in this paper.

Thus, as the movement in this country for maximizing human potential grows, as there is greater and greater concern with enabling individuals to set and pursue life goals according to their own personal needs, and as remedies for pressing social problems are more urgently sought, AWPs can be expected to emerge as a more central theme in American working life. The questions policy-makers can expect to have to answer will deal not with the desirability of the forty-hour work week but with the nature of the many options which will most likely take its place.

III. MAJOR ALTERNATIVE WORK PATTERNS

Flexitime

Flexitime, often heralded as one of the most successful and least problematic of AWPs, is said to be of benefit to employer and employee alike (as well as families and society in general). Known as "gleitzeit" or gliding time in Germany, and flexitime or flex-time in the U.S., it involves worker choice in setting hours of work, provided the total number of hours are worked. In its most restricted form, employees choose their own set arrival and departure times and adhere to those times each day. More commonly, employees may vary their starting and stopping times daily and often their total daily, weekly, or monthly hours. (A certain number of hours may be "banked" or carried over to the next accounting period, within certain limits.)

The origins of flexitime can be traced to the mid-1960s in Germany, where an economist and management consultant introduced the concept of "Gleitende Arbeitzeit," or gliding working hours, designed to remedy labor market shortages by making it easier for mothers to work. In 1967, a German aerospace firm introduced a form of gliding hours to alleviate traffic congestion around the plant rather than having to build a second access road. Not only was the traffic problem alleviated, but lines of workers at the gates were reduced and the firm's recruiting problem was eliminated. In less than two years, all the firm's employees were on flexitime, and in some cases even core hours were abolished. While flexitime quickly spread throughout Germany and the rest of Europe, it did not receive much attention in the U.S. until the early 1970s, largely transmitted through American companies with international affiliations.

Almost 13 percent of all nongovernment organizations and nearly 6 percent of workers in the U.S. currently use some form of flexitime (Nollen and Martin, 1978a).* Between 2.5 and 3.5 million employees are on flexitime, not including the self-employed and the many professionals, salespeople, and managers who set their own hours but do not refer to it as flexitime. One estimate is that 3,200 companies are now using flexitime, and another 5,000 are ready for conversion (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 54). At least 23 federal government agencies are using or testing flexitime. Its use has grown rapidly, possibly even doubling from 1974 to 1977 (Nollen and Martin, 1978a). This fast growth will apparently continue, since 9 percent of organizations are currently planning or evaluating its use.

Flexitime is used successfully in many settings, both blue-collar and white collar, despite a common feeling that it is more suited to office jobs than to factories. More important than the setting to the success of flexitime are the specific requirements of the job and the way in which the work process is organized. When employees each work fairly independently, flexitime can work well. Even, however, when some interaction between employees is necessary, the workday can often be organized efficiently, with interaction occurring during the core hours.

Certain situations in which flexitime use is sometimes reported to be problemmatic are: shift work, assembly lines, and other machine-paced work; work where continuous coverage is needed, such as switchboard operators and emergency services suppliers; work in small organizations or where there are few workers; and jobs in which extensive communication and interfacing

*Nollen and Martin statistics are based on a 1977 survey of 2,889 organizations, 28 percent of which responded.

are needed. However, where work responsibilities have been reorganized, flexitime has been successful in many of the above situations.

Flexitime has notably wide appeal, unlike some other forms of AWPs. Employees of any sex, age, or occupational level stand to benefit from the freedom, flexibility, and convenience it affords. Workers may use flexitime for a variety of reasons, such as:

- for participation in education, cultural affairs, or civic activity;
- to enable working according to one's most functional time of the day;
- to avoid rush hour;
- to use carpools;
- for personal errands or medical appointments;
- to facilitate child care and household maintenance;
- for recreational activity during daylight hours.

Reportedly, flexitime's appeal is so great that employees almost never want to give it up; it "becomes a way of life" (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 50). Furthermore, in addition to the increased autonomy, responsibility, and freedom which flexitime affords individual workers, it may offer more employment possibilities to certain groups (parents, for example) and it benefits society at large by alleviating rush hour congestion and energy and transportation costs. Its benefits appear to be lasting, it has been successfully implemented in many settings, and its failure rate is extremely low, perhaps only 8 percent (Nollen and Martin, 1978a).

Thus, overall it probably is considered to be the most popular form of AWP. Flexitime's use has not "peaked," and most all observers predict its expansion. Conservative estimates by its advocates suggest that in the next decade it will be successfully applied to one-third to one-half of American workers. The most optimistic predict that once certain problems

in its day-to-day use are diminished, it will be extended to the majority of the American workforce, possibly to become a way of life for the next generation of workers.

Permanent Part-Time Employment and Job Sharing

Permanent part-time employment (PPT), a rapidly growing American phenomenon, reflects the changing economic and social realities in the United States in the last few decades. A number of the societal trends which have catalyzed the development of AWPs in general have had particular impact on the recent boom of PPT. The influx of women and youth into a labor force employed increasingly in service sector jobs has largely been responsible for the creation of regular voluntary part-time employment, which is currently held by over one-fifth of the American workforce. Their numbers almost tripling since 1954, permanent part-timers are those who work less than thirty-five hours a week* in a regular, voluntary capacity, as distinguished from casual or temporary part-time work.

While part-time workers have classically been stereotyped as unserious or lower-skilled workers, PPT has increasingly been utilized at high or career-oriented levels of the job ladder. Further, it has answered the employment needs of much of the "new" American workforce for whom full-time employment is not desired or not feasible. A recent off-shoot of PPT, job sharing, seeks to further facilitate the utilization of part-time workers in career occupations.

While part-time jobs have been around for many years, it was not until the 1960s that permanent part-time grew in the U.S. and in Europe, though it has always been more common in the U.S.

*This is the generally accepted definition of part-time hours, though some consider it to be more than sixteen and less than thirty hours a week.

Why has PPT grown so quickly in recent years? To whom does it appeal? The numbers of women, youth and older workers in the labor force have greatly increased. Many women today get married later and have fewer children. For them, and even for married women with children, the tendency to hold jobs has jumped significantly, both because of financial need and career aspiration. Recently, many more youths have access to student loan or employment programs which enable them to pursue work and education simultaneously. More older Americans are now working, and part-time work enables phased retirement and a supplement to social security benefits. Part-time employment may be best suited to the needs of handicapped employees. The growing number of service sector occupations are also more likely to hire part-timers than are the jobs in the declining industries. Further, jobs in the service industries are more likely to be held by females.

The statistics reflect the growing appeal of part-time employment for substantial components of the labor force:

- In 1977, 21 percent of the workforce, or 16 to 17 million workers, were permanent part-time employees (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 70).
- Since 1954, the part-time workforce has nearly tripled; it has grown at almost twice the rate of the full-time workforce (Duetermann and Brown, 1978).
- Women are more than twice as likely as men to work part-time. One in three women work part-time and one in seven men (Duetermann and Brown, 1978).
- For workers over sixty-five, the likelihood of working part-time rose from 38 percent in 1968 to 49 percent in 1977 (Focus on Part-time Careers, 1979).
- The average part-time worker is a married female with school-age children who works nearly twenty hours a week in a clerical or sales position (Leon and Bednarzik, 1978).

According to data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1976, 24.8 percent of the voluntary part-time workforce were service workers (waitresses, cooks, janitors, food service, cleaning service, etc.); 22.8 percent were clerical workers (bookkeepers, cashiers, secretaries, etc.); 13.3% were professional and technical workers (librarians, nurses, teachers, musicians, etc.); and 10.4% were salesworkers. In 1970, four out of ten female part-time workers were in clerical, sales, and related occupations.

One survey found three organizational characteristics encouraging the use of PPT: production of services rather than goods, cyclic demand for output (for example, banks which have peak midday business), and extended hours of operations (such as department stores with evening hours) (Nollen and Martin, 1978b). Typically, organizations that have PPT only use it for less than 5 percent of the workforce. An employment situation may be particularly suited to part-time jobs when there is a greatly fluctuating demand for goods or services. Part-timers are hired when more people are needed to meet the demand. Part-time employment may also be used as an alternative to layoffs during periods of retrenchment. Situations where permanent part-time would be useful include those where there are budgetary limitations, jobs which are by nature part-time, and organizations in which there is a shortage of qualified full-time staff.

Some notable initiatives have been facilitated around the country to enhance PPT development, and there is growing interest in it throughout the government. In 1977, President Carter issued a directive to expand the use of PPT in federal agencies. As a result, over 6,000 permanent part-time positions were established between September 1977 and July 1978 (National Council on Alternative Work Patterns, Inc., 1979, p. 3). In 1978, the Federal Employees Part-time Career Employment Act (Public Law 95-437) was approved by an impressive majority in both houses of Congress. The law,

reflecting a growing acceptance of PPT as a legitimate alternative to the forty-hour week, offers a mandate to federal agencies to establish programs to promote part-time opportunities at all career levels. Also, it specifies a safeguard that no full-time jobs will be eliminated to create part-time employment.

Job sharing, in which several people jointly fill one full-time position, has evolved as a means to increase career part-time employment. It is a voluntary work arrangement which involves deliberate conversion of a full-time job, usually into two positions for which salary and fringe benefits are prorated according to hours worked. The new job sharing concept is quite different than either the poverty sharing of Depression years or the work sharing which evolved during World War II from labor shortages. The new concept grew out of efforts in the late 1960s to enhance the career potential of part-time work.

Job sharing is often more beneficial to the worker than traditional PPT for two reasons. First, the prorated full-time salary and benefits which it pays sharers are frequently much higher than the compensation received by regular part-timers. Second, it can be used in almost any type of job; it is not restricted to lower-skill positions as other part-time jobs often are.

Currently, 1 to 2 percent of jobs are shared; however, the job sharing population is growing. The combination of part-time hours and challenging work appeals to many employee groups, such as parents, professionals, students, the handicapped, and older workers. Job sharing has been sought by both current full-timers and by those entering or reentering the labor market.

Despite growing opportunities for PPT and job sharing, the number of part-time professionals is still very small compared to the many part-timers in lower-skilled, low-paid occupations, and thus it seems difficult at this point to predict how far the move for PPT will progress. As with flexitime, PPT and job sharing appear to benefit substantial and growing sectors of the labor force. This fact together with developing legislative initiatives and some encouraging empirical evidence may bode well for the future of these alternative work patterns.

Compressed Workweek

Back in the late 1960s, when the compressed workweek developed in this country,* the outlook for its future was bright. Advocates of the four-day week predicted that it would be the next American work standard, sought by management and workers alike, and that it would foretell a "revolution in work and leisure" (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 95). The idea was to let employees work forty hours a week in less than five days, thus giving them more days free for leisure, family, etc.

A decade later, the first AWP to gain recognition in the U.S. has fallen far short of this potential. It has presented many more problems than had been anticipated, and its use appears to have peaked. Nevertheless, as with other AWPs, there are examples of the compressed workweek having been used very successfully and it is the preferred choice for a number of business people and employees. In some situations, it yields clear benefits.

Unlike other AWPs, the compressed workweek originated in the United States, and it has never been much used or favored by European workers. While the compressed workweek usually refers to four approximately ten-hour

*There has been limited experimentation with it since the end of World War II; however, the concept did not really catch on until about 1970.

days with Friday or Monday off, there are several other variations, such as the three-day week (three twelve- or thirteen-hour days) and the 5-4/9 plan (in which in a two-week period, employees work four days one week and five days the next). Also, when companies convert to a compressed workweek, they often reduce the total weekly hours by several hours.

While the compressed workweek (CWW) initially experienced rapid growth, its peak use was still quite low. In 1976, it was used by 2.1 percent of the full-time workforce (1,270,000 workers) in approximately 10,000 businesses (Nollen and Martin, 1978b; Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978). While only 0.1 percent of workers were on the compressed workweek in 1971, this had risen to 1.7 percent by 1973 and 2.2 percent by 1975 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures cited in Nollen and Martin, 1978b). Accurate estimates, however, are hard to get because of the rather high proportion of organizations which abandon the CWW after experimentation. By contrast with flexitime, the failure rate for this type of AWP is said to be as high as 50 percent (estimates usually fall between 10 percent and 50 percent).

Organizations of all types and sizes have used the CWW. However, it has been reported that manufacturing companies, local governments, computer operations, and small organizations have found it more feasible or useful to use than other groups. Situations in which CWW may present problems include those in which full coverage and/or contact with customers is needed (such as shipping and receiving departments or switchboards), shift work operations, and work units which have to coordinate their output with units not on the CWW. Plants that use the CWW, rather than operating less than five days a week, often have two or three teams of workers on different schedules, thus enabling the plant to operate five or more days a week.

Certain groups for whom the CWW reportedly has particular appeal include young single workers who value long weekends and who tire less from a long workday, organizations with managerial problems which are seeking to boost company productivity and image, and businesses which require employees to travel to branch offices. Groups which often find the CWW problemmatic include married workers (particularly women) with children and older workers.

Overall, despite the CWWs' success in a number of instances, it is generally the most problemmatic of all AWPs. It is unpopular with certain groups of workers, its implementation is unsuitable in many settings, and its use appears to have peaked, with very few organizations considering its future establishment. Despite its problems, however, experimentation with this initial American form of AWP has been valuable, both in elucidating more clearly the problems and needs of workers and organizations and in pointing the way toward more workable scheduling options.

Reduced Worktime

"So long as there is one man who seeks employment and cannot find it, the hours of work are too long." These words of Samuel Gompers (founder of the American Federation of Labor), uttered some ninety years ago, reflect a prime motivation behind the current move for reduced worktime. The serious problem of unemployment, with few promising solutions in sight, has prompted the push to share the available work by reducing each worker's total hours. This, coupled with the desire for increased leisure time on the part of many workers, has made shortened worktime an important goal of many unions, employees, and human resource policy-makers.

There are several proposed ways to reduce worktime and share work. With the shortened workweek, affecting about 10 million American workers, employees work thirty to thirty-seven hours a week with no loss in pay. (They are

either paid monthly or at a higher hourly rate.) They usually work shortened workdays (six, seven, or seven-and-a-half hours a day for eight hours' pay), but occasionally work four eight-hour days and one half day. The shortened work year involves increased paid holidays and vacations and is usually brought about by union negotiations. Since World War II, this has been the predominant means of reducing worktime. Short-time compensation, a concept largely modeled on European work sharing practices, entails reduced work hours with partial unemployment compensation to make up for the loss in pay. Leisure sharing is a related idea which refers to providing options to workers to trade a portion of their salary for increased leisure time. Called "work sharing" in the thirties, the term now focuses on the many workers who desire more free time and would voluntarily share available work.

With rapidly expanding job holding on the part of women, youth, and older workers, many families have increased total income. Because of this, worker demands in many cases have shifted from longer hours, in order to increase earnings, to the demand for more leisure time with no loss of income. This demand can be expected to be raised even more vigorously in the future. Sar Levitan and Richard Belous, who have written on the subject of reduced worktime, view the activities of some unions recently as indicative of a shift on the part of well-paid workers toward trying to protect their earnings and save their jobs rather than seek wage increases (Levitan and Belous, 1978).

In 1977, the "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Workweek" was formed in Detroit. As a tool to cut unemployment, thirty-five hours work for forty hours pay is the general goal of the committee. Predictions are that such a reduction in hours could create over 7 million additional jobs.

Currently, the average American union member receives eleven paid holidays each year, and this number will probably grow (Alternative Work Patterns Project, 1978, p. 100). At the center of the United Auto Workers' Fall 1979 contract talks with General Motors were demands for shortened worktime through two approaches: the extension of the Paid Personal Holiday (PPH) Program (won in 1976 negotiations) and the establishment of compensatory time off for overtime work (Solidarity, 1979b). The agreement reached resulted in provision of fourteen additional PPH's over a three-year period, added to the twelve days already provided (Solidarity, 1979a).

By mid-1974, one in five major collective bargaining agreements in the U.S. contained clauses calling for reduction of work hours during slack work periods, and 119 of 311 contracts had specific clauses dealing with work sharing. It is rare, however, that these clauses are invoked (Levitan and Belous, 1978).

On the legislative front, in February 1979, Congressman John Conyers introduced the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1979, H.R. 1784, which would reduce the standard workweek to thirty-five hours by 1983. This legislation would also increase the overtime premium rate to twice the regular rate of pay and would abolish compulsory overtime. Hearings were held on the measure in October 1979, but no further action has been taken. Supporters of this legislation state that the added costs to the employer of reduced worktime must be balanced with the high economic and social costs of unemployment.

Levitan and Belous advocate work sharing, most widely used in Western Europe, as a means to reduce unemployment. It has been shown to be more effective than many of the standard strategies used to deal with unemployment (job creation, unemployment insurance, and welfare), and it involves less deficit financing. Work sharing, however, is not without complications.

For example, to implement it in the U.S., legislative changes would be needed because current state unemployment insurance (UI) laws prevent payment of benefits to workers forced on reduced schedules because full-time work is unavailable. A change in U.S. policy to permit payment of partial UI benefits for workers on reduced hours may be one way to win widespread support for work sharing in this country. "Short-time compensation" (STC), following European worksharing models, has been proposed. While not problem free, the administrative and cost difficulties STC would create are not insurmountable, and according to one prediction, "Partial compensation could become one of the nation's front line programs retarding the growth of unemployment" (Clark, 1977, p. 50).

Despite the problems and costs of implementing reduced worktime and work sharing plans, there is a general consensus among union officials, policy-makers, and even the American business community that Americans are heading toward a shorter workweek. What with worsening unemployment, increased overall demand for leisure time, and growing labor force participation by those groups most desirous of shorter hours, reduced worktime, in all its variations, may well represent the "wave of the future."

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING

> ...if we relate flexible work patterns to the surging interest in flexible education and training systems, we can look forward to a more effective functioning of the labor market...The two ideas--alternative work patterns and lifel ng learning--offer so much promise for a better quality of life, it makes one hope that many more pioneers will come forth to make it all happen faster! (Fleming, 1976).

If in the future we witness a significant growth of flexible work scheduling and new worktime options, what connections will this have with the increasing adult constituency for education? If it is no longer unusual for employees to set their own hours or to work less than forty hours a week, what are the implications for worker pursuit of education and training opportunities? It appears that one of the crucial areas in which alternative work patterns could interact effectively with other social policies is in that of worklife education and training. Furthermore, the effects are not one-way; that is, increased use of education could be said to impact on AWP development, just as the opposite is true.

There are a number of ways in which AWPs and worker use of education can affect each other. Some of these are obvious direct connections, while others are more subtle by-products which may result from an increased emphasis on one or the other. Furthermore, different AWP forms may impact in specific ways on education and training use. A discussion of these various impacts and interconnections follows, with examination of general implications followed by a look at specifics.

- Scheduling. As mentioned, implementation of alternative work patterns would go a long way toward reducing an important barrier to worker use of education--that of work schedules. Widespread use of AWPs would greatly facilitate the ability of employees to take advantage of educational

opportunities. It can be speculated that in light of the fact that 1) AWPs would enhance worker access to education and 2) that worker interest in education exceeds participation, a substantial growth in AWPs quite possibly would be accompanied by a growth in worker use of education. (Of course, the degree to which this is true would also depend on other factors, including the impact of other barriers besides worktime scheduling.) Related to this, it may be that the same individuals who would be motivated to experiment with AWPs would be those most likely to pursue education; thus in this other sense, expansion of AWPs could lead to a broadened worker-student clientele.

- The impact of greater worker participation in education on educational offerings. As Janice Hedges states:

> The new work weeks may also provide an impetus to adult education. Public and private vocational and technical programs, employer-sponsored training and education, correspondence courses, and weekend colleges might be expected to grow in number and enrollments (The Conference Board in Canada, 1973, p. 51).

Not only could a growing worker-student population lead to expanded educational offerings but it might lead to education programs which are more responsive to the needs of working adults. To make education truly accessible to workers ideally would involve more than just changes in the workplace. The National Manpower Institute study of tuition-aid use (mentioned in Section I of this paper) found almost 30 percent of workers stating that schools did not offer courses at times when they could take them (Charner et al., 1978, p. 60). Company and union officials also viewed inflexibility of course schedules as a barrier to worker use of negotiated tuition-aid plans (Charner et al., 1978, p. 49). Perhaps inflexibility of educational institutions would be lessened by an enlarged worker clientele.

- The impact of increased worker participation in education on development of alternative work patterns. In the same way that educational institutions might become more responsive to worker-students, a growth in worker use of education would probably also lead to wider overall pressure for use of AWPs. As more and more workers return to school, the need for workplace schedules to accommodate this would become stronger. Fred Best explained it in the following statement:

> The growth of educational activities during mid-life is likely to foster more flexible life patterns in three ways. First, the increasing incidence of school enrollment during mid-life, particularly full-time college attendance, will break down the traditional assumption that formal schooling should occur in youth and encourage the redistribution (of) formal educational undertakings into mid-life. Second, the pursuit of educational undertakings during mid-life, be they formal or informal, will require time. As a result, any growth in the need or desire for education during the work and child rearing years of mid-life is likely to foster a growing demand for more individual opportunities to take time away from work. Third, it has been suggested that educational attainment increases both independent thinking and the capacity for leisure. If this is true, it can be expected that increased education during both youth and mid-life may engender a greater appreciation and demand for non-work time (Best, 1979, pp. 58-59).

- The connection between AWP philosophy and the societal acceptance of the worker as student, with the concommitant development of a coordinated social policy and of a system of linkages.

The introduction of flexible working hours represents an awareness of the worker as an individual, not just as a worker. AWPs attempt to meet the needs of people with other important life commitments beyond the workplace. Toward this end, the acceptance of AWPs could validate and facilitate the societal acceptance of the worker as student. Again, this could lead to the development of work and education structures more responsive to adult pursuit of further education.

Hopefully, what would emerge from all this would be the notion of linkages. A social policy designed to enhance individual potential and opportunity would have to take into account all the institutions involved--in this case, both employment institutions and schools. It does not make sense to leave one or the other out of any effort designed to promote the notion of simultaneous earning and learning. A coordinated policy is even more sensible in light of worker needs for training and postsecondary educational institutions' needs for students; thus, both employers and educators stand to gain from such a coordination effort. One example of how such a linkage policy could work is the Hofstra/DC37 Campus in New York City. Hofstra University has a special campus at the union headquarters of AFSCME. Through a U.S. Department of Labor grant plus a special arrangement with the employer (i.e., the city), worker-students receive five hours' paid release time a week, enabling them to attend afternoon classes in the four-year career-related college program (Shore, 1979, pp. 12-13).

- AWPs as a tool for educational equity. Currently, education is "addictive;" that is, those who have more education get more education. Thus, those underserved by education stay underserved, and the gap between the educational "have" and "have-nots" is widened. The educational haves, of course, are more likely to receive high-skill, high-paying jobs.

As mentioned, flexible working patterns may be particularly beneficial to groups such as women, youth, the handicapped, and others for whom a rigid forty-hour week presents problems or is not feasible. For these groups, AWPs enhance employment possibilities. But, since these are also the groups of workers who are concentrated in low-skill or low-paying jobs, they have a particularly strong need for education and training.

Insofar as AWPs make it easier for these groups to pursue education by reducing the barrier of rigid work schedules, AWPs may serve as somewhat

of a social equalizer. The current educational use pattern may be broken, and the underserved, who need education the most (in order to advance), may eventually use it the most. Of course, this would not occur unless other barriers to worker use of education (such as financial and psychological barriers) were also addressed.

- Financing of Education. Here AWPs could potentially have a negative effect for two reasons. First, if employees work less hours and thereby have less income, then presumably they will have less money available to spend on education. Of course, the degree to which this is a problem would vary according to the individual financial circumstances of each employee as well as the cost of various learning opportunities. And, on the other hand, the availability of part-time work may provide the only opportunity for earning while learning to some individuals, thus increasing the possibility of pursuing education. Second, if a full-time worker is covered for educational assistance benefits, then part-time work or reduced hours may lead to a loss of part or all of these benefits, thus making the financing of education more difficult. This issue of fringe benefits is controversial and has yet to be worked out; thus, the status of educational benefits under AWPs is undetermined.

Turning now to specifics, what might be impacts of each major form of AWP on worker use of education? What follows is a discussion of the education and training implications of each.

- Flexitime. The blue collar worker seeking a technical skill course at a local college, the secretary studying to be an accountant, the older worker wanting an enrichment course--all these workers could probably benefit from the establishment of flexitime at their place of work. Rigid worktime scheduling hampers the ability of many employees to attend daytime or even

late afternoon courses. Flexitime would enable workers to juggle their schedules in order to pursue a variety of learning opportunities. Furthermore, because of the provision for "banking" hours, workers under flexitime could potentially have relatively large blocks of time freed up in a given time period each week or every few weeks. Thus, for example, if a worker regularly worked from nine to five and wished to take a seminar which met twice from one to five, he/she could attend the course and then make up the hours over the next accounting period.

In addition to enhancing worker access to external educational offerings, flexitime also has important potential implications for workplace education and training. A company or union could offer a late afternoon training course on a regular basis, knowing that flexitime would enable employees to start their workday early enough to allow them to attend the course. Again, the banking provision offers the possibility of scheduling special seminars or institutes as the need or interest arise, with the work hours made up at another time. Employers could creatively link flexitime to an education/training policy to the benefit of both workers and management.

Overall, flexitime would probably have particular appeal for those workers desiring an occasional class here or there as opposed to those undertaking a more involved or set course of study. This is true for two reasons. First, since flexitime allows workers to alter their hours each day, work schedules could easily be adjusted when necessary due to a new course or school with a new schedule. Second, since flexitime still involves full-time work, employees presumably have less time or energy available for a taxing course load than they would if they had large blocks of time freed up, as would be the case with some other AWPs. On the other hand, full-time workers receive full-time salaries and thus would probably have more funds available to finance education.

• Permanent Part-Time Employment and Job Sharing. Part-time work and job sharing allow for large blocks of free time which can be used for schooling. The time available, often regular half-day intervals, would even allow for full-time study, with some income as well. Nevertheless, a part-time salary would often not cover full-time study, and, furthermore, part-time employees are frequently not eligible for educational assistance plans which their full-time counterparts may receive.

The cost issue aside, it has been noted that part-time employment and job sharing may have particular appeal for women, youth, older workers, and the handicapped. These are also groups which may have a special interest in education. Given that many part-time positions held by women or youth are low-skill or low-paid, the need for these workers to receive education and training for career advancement may be particularly strong. Further, older workers phasing in retirement through part-time work may desire education to plan for or enhance retirement years. Handicapped workers may be in need of special training and skills development. Thus, part-time employment and job-sharing not only greatly reduce the problems of worker-students in scheduling education, but they are often utilized by just those workers with a particular need or desire for education.

As with flexitime, PPT could be used in conjunction with a program of workplace education and training, particularly if a substantial proportion of the work force were employed on a part-time basis. Half day training programs could be available on a regular basis or as the need arose.

• Compressed Workweeks. Where compressed workweeks are used, large groups of workers at a given organization are often not working on the same day. This raises the possibility of such an organization sponsoring seminars or training programs for their workers. Such ongoing, regular, and planned

intervals of nonwork time in a given company offer numerous possibilities and would enable learning opportunities tailored to the needs of a specific group. Educational offerings for employees on compressed workweeks could range from one-day seminars, offered as the need arose, to long-term more ambitious training and development courses offered on a weekly basis. The same workers with energy levels high enough to opt for a ten-hour working day might also be anxious to pursue educational opportunities. Further, companies with built-in training programs which did not interfere with normal working hours would also stand to gain.

• Reduced Worktime. If the fight for reduced worktime is successful, then, as is suggested by research cited early in this report, many workers will opt for extended blocks of time away from the job. This offers numerous possibilities for tie-ins with recurrent education programs involving worker sabbaticals, paid educational leave, special company- or union-sponsored institutes, etc. For example, James O'Toole, in Work in America, has proposed a "Universal Worker Self-Renewal Program (Undated, p. 129), in which all workers could take a six-month sabbatical every seven years or a one-year sabbatical every fourteen years. Canadian UAW workers recently won a paid educational leave program, negotiated with General Motors, enabling workers to attend fifteen-week union-run courses (Solidarity, 1979c, p. 17).

Furthermore, since reduced worktime is often motivated by high unemployment or threatened layoffs, retraining or upgrading needs would be especially strong. Along with shortened work hours as a tool to avoid layoffs could go education and training for upgrading or job transfer. Such a possibility has been proposed by Paul Barton, in his monograph on countercyclical education and training as a means of managing recessions (1979).

This would represent the kind of creatively designed social policy which could address several problems at once.

Overall, we see two concepts--AWPs and worker education--each with enthusiastic advocates but with far too little exploration to date of their potential integration. This section has examined the potential consequences of such an interweaving, in both the general and specific sense. The widespread interest which exists in both alternative work patterns and in worker educational opportunity could be very effectively joined, with positive consequences for both. Hopefully, as the notions of flexible work scheduling and mid-life education become more central and well-developed components of American working life, a coordinated policy for linking the two will emerge.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are proposed as means to enhance the potential of both alternative work patterns and worker educational opportunity:

- Study the relationship between AWPs and worklife education and training.

The interconnections discussed in the previous section should be explored in greater detail and in relation to specific community settings. There is a need for a firmer knowledge base regarding the impacts of various types of work scheduling options on worker participation in education and training.

In a given community, analysis could be undertaken of: education and training needs of the workforce, overall and by plant industry; form(s) of AWPs which would best facilitate meeting those needs; feasibility of implementing the AWP(s) at various workplaces; availability of educational opportunities; and willingness of various groups such as employers and educators to make necessary changes to implement an AWP-education policy.

Data of this sort could be collected at both the individual level--through surveys and questionnaires--and at the aggregate level--through community meetings, boards, and policy statements. Hopefully what would emerge would be a local research base which could lead to action (see next recommendation) and a national tabulation and clearinghouse of this information through existing interested national organizations, for example the National Council on Alternative Work Patterns, Inc., or the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, groups which have expressed interest in one or both of these areas.

- Set up local linkages between employers and education institutions enabling the development of a coordinated policy. Mechanisms should be

established at the local community level whereby employers interested in AWPs can work in concert with learning institutions which have or desire a worker clientele. These collaborative forums should actively engage the participation of workers and union representatives. As the needs of various parties emerge, policies of institutional flexibility and integrated efforts should be developed after periods of experimentation. Using the data base proposed in the prior recommendation, demonstration projects should be set up, which, if successful, could lead to more permanent arrangements.

Again, it would be important to collect and disseminate the results of various local experiments and new institutional arrangements for a look at the common instruction they could provide. Existing innovative community approaches along these lines, if they exist, should also be studied as process models.*

- Facilitate stronger linkages between existing national organizations with an interest in either AWPs, higher education, or worklife education and training. If research and development confirm the mutual benefits of collaboration between these various constituencies, then their "parent" national organizations would hopefully take a more active role in developing a linkage policy. These national groups could educate their memberships regarding the positive connections between AWPs and worker use of education, through information dissemination and by publicizing "model" community coordination efforts of which they were aware. Also, these groups could exchange information with each other on a regular basis and attempt to link up local communities experiencing similar problems with communities which had solved them. Possibly these centers could play an advocacy role, attempting

*The author knows of no such arrangements currently operating.

to raise public consciousness about the overall value of linking AWP development to worklife education and training efforts, thus importantly influencing the development of a creative and coordinated social policy.

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The National Institute for Work and Learning (formerly the National Manpower Institute) is a private, not-for-profit, policy research and demonstration organization established in Washington, D.C. in 1971. NIWL is concerned with encouraging public and private sector policies and practices that contribute to the "fullest and best use of the life experience"; with eliminating artificial time-traps which segment life into youth for schooling, adulthood for working, and the rest of life for obsolescence; and with a more rational integration of education, employment and training, and economic policy.

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